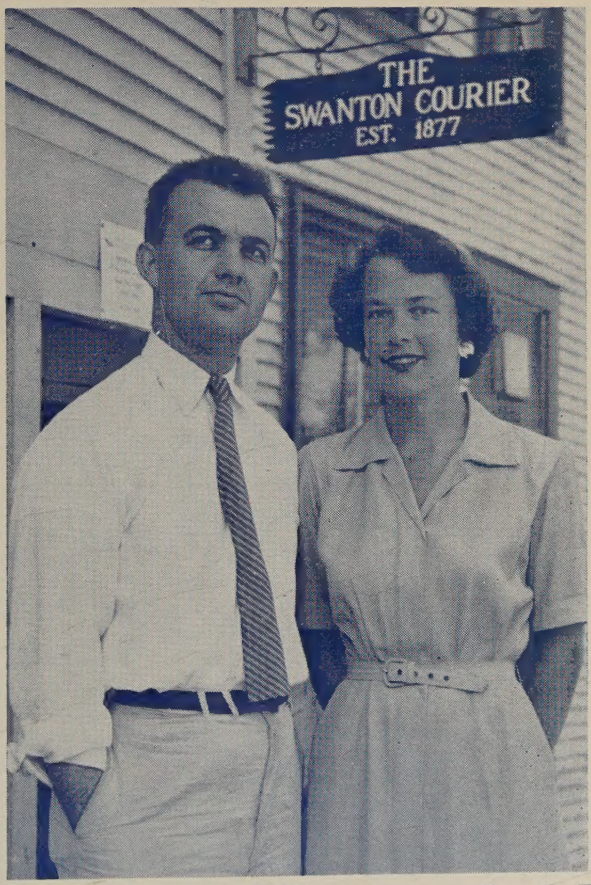
May 1952

Fellowship



BERNARD and SHEILA O'SHEA

Fourth Estate

Something Has to Happen. by Alfred Hassler

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ff A brief biography of our cover couple, Bernard and Sheila O'Shea, appears on page 9. . . . The two articles on pages 10 and 11 express in brief and understandable form the philosophies of Henry George and Ralph Borsodi, two economists whose original ideas have provoked violent attacks and equally strong defenses. . . . Alfred Hassler puts down some thoughts on the chaotic European situation. . . . The Spiritual Life Committee set up by the National Council of the FOR a year ago contributes a meditation. . . . and Ann Morrissett's article on Spain is an interesting apostrophe on a country in which we are all interested.

Help! Help!

The FOR National Office, in New York, needs help again. Employed help. Two secretaries are needed: one for A. J. Muste and the other for Alfred Hassler. Familiarity with the FOR and pacifism desirable; good knowledge stenography and typing essential. Equalized salaries start at $46.50 per week, with yearly increments following, plus hospitalization and health insurance paid by the FOR, social security, and three weeks paid vacation annually.

FELLOWSHIP

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THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC SITUATION GROWS MORE AND MORE ACUTE, AND SOON

Something Has to Happen

By ALFRED HASSLER

THE CONVICTION THAT KEEPS GROWing in me is that things *can't* go on this way much longer. Not for any reasons of moral laws, or ends and means, but just because of the hard physical and economic facts of life.

Last summer I spent two months in Western Europe. Like most Americans, I am practically a monoglot. With some straining and grunting and thumbing of a pocket dictionary I can get a room or a meal or road directions in French or German, but conversations about politics or economics or theology are as much beyond me as taking a spot in the chorus line of the Folies Bergeres. So I can't honestly claim to have learned everything there is to know about Europe.

Even so, since every second European *can* converse easily in English, two months were plenty to reveal the kind of economic tight rope Europe was walking, and some of the political pitfalls that lay beneath it. If anything, that tight rope is higher and thinner now, and swaying dangerously in the wind, and if anything the pitfalls are deeper and more numerous. That, at least, is how it seems to me, reading the lines between the lines in the papers, and trying to remember what they told us in France and England and Holland and Italy and Western Germany.

When we landed in Cherbourg on May 5, 1951, one American dollar would buy about 350 francs in any bank or tourist agency, at the official rate. We never did deal on the black market, but a month later, in Switzerland's free market our buck brought us 380 French francs. That exchange rate made it possible to get a real good meal,

though not at a fancy tourist restaurant, for less than a dollar, and sometimes for about 60 or 65 cents. Stopping at third-class hotels (American tourist agencies warn never to go lower than second, but the third and even fourth class seemed fine to us. Who needs a bath every night, anyway?), we could get a room for 75 cents or a dollar each, including the single croissant and puny cup of bad coffee the French laughingly refer to as breakfast.

Cheap for Tourists

While not much else in France is particularly cheap even by American standards, these prices for meals and the (controlled) hotel rates make traveling nice even for an American on an FOR budget. France's trouble is that the country is full of Frenchmen instead of Americans, and the Frenchmen live on French incomes, which in general make an FOR secretary's salary look like something paid by Standard Oil to one of the minor Rockefellers.

When we reached Paris, the transit workers of that city had just won a strike for higher wages, which had brought their monthly minimum from 14,000 to 18,000 francs. If you're quick with figures, you can find out in no time at all that this meant a raise from about $40 to $52 per month. A "professional pacifist" we met had to maintain himself, his home-office, and his staff of one on 28,000 francs ($80) a month, and the members of a machine-tool community-of-work at St. Etienne ranged in income from 24,000 to 28,000 francs.

At these incomes the average Frenchman spends few nights in even a third-class hotel, and his meals are likely to run heavily to the long loaves of bread you see under everyone's arm. Luxuries are nonexistent, and "necessity" is defined in considerably more Spartan terms than in this country.

The same thing was true, with minor variations, everywhere else we went. In Italy the lira ran 650 to the dollar, and wages were even lower; in Holland the more dignified guilder slightly outranks our quarter, but the workers get only 35 or so of them a week; England's devalued pound (used to be worth almost $5, now down to $2.80) means higher costs on everything, and thousands of Britons struggle along on from £5 to £10 a week.

Even this is not the whole bleak picture. Where the exchange rate is "official," it usually must be taken with skepticism. The French rate officially was still about 350 to the dollar early in 1952, but the free "black" market quotation was 467, and it is by that price that the real value of the franc can be determined.

The reasons for this sad state of affairs are not simple to isolate, though there are Americans who think so. Listen to some of our returning explorers as they report to Congress or their local chambers of commerce and it will be apparent that the villain is the socialism in which the muddle-headed Europeans persist in dabbling, especially the late-lamented British Labor Government.[1]

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[1] A surprising number of others come back with the cheery word that all is well with Western Europe: recovery is proceeding apace, communism is controlled, etc., etc. It is quite possible for a visiting VIP to come back with that impression, we judged, having experienced in his trip something less than the exposure to facts available through reading one issue of the Sunday *New York Times*. Flying in by luxury airliner, met at the airport by an official limousine and es-

More realistically, of course, nationalism and war lie at the heart of Europe's economic distress. The economically absurd fragmentation of the continent into more than a dozen nations, each with its tariffs and border guards, in the past has worked to the advantage of the economic overlords of the larger nations and to the disadvantage of everyone else. (For the American, motoring across the continent, this reaches the height of absurdity at Luxembourg, where he may spend more time at the two customs stations than it takes to cross the country.) And the incredible destructiveness of two world wars completed the job that economic nationalism began.

Many Causes

None of these things is a secret, of course, but they need to be restated simply because so many articulate Americans have a vested interest in pretending they do not exist. The minister of Brick Presbyterian Church in New York City two years ago preached a sermon that was reprinted in the National Association of Manufacturers' *Trends*. In it he ascribed Britain's economic distress to the "welfare legislation" it had adopted during the past century, and declared that the death knell of British prosperity had been sounded with the adoption 80 years ago of the first legislation that "made it possible for the people to dip into the national treasury and vote economic benefits for themselves."

Effects of War

Apparently it had not occurred to him to correlate the economic effects of two world wars with Britain's declining prosperity. The rain of destruction poured out of the sky on British industry for five years he disregarded. The liquidation of British investments abroad to pay for war materials, so that from a nation with foreign assets of £3½ billion at the start of World War II it became one with foreign debts of £2 billion at its end, he did not mention. Of the loss of colonial possessions in the rising tide of freedom around the world he spoke not a word, though economists point out that the British Isles alone are physically able to support only 30 million of Great Britain's 50 million population.

"Creeping socialism" had been the villain in the good reverend's eyes, and the reason behind his thinking was clear enough when he concluded with the warning that America is following the British example. His strictures against "socialism" and "welfare legislation" are duplicated over and over by some of those who are most able to get the public's attention, in bland disregard of the facts, which are that "welfare" appropriations are being reduced or abandoned both here and abroad as military demands gobble up the national wealth.

Forgive me for laboring the obvious. Everyone knows, of course, that Europe was in a bad way when the war ended. Otherwise the United States need not have poured out the billions of dollars in postwar aid that it did.

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corted to an uncontrolled, luxury hotel, a traveling Congressman could quite easily spend all his time being feted by dollar-conscious dignitaries and never come near the country's real population. The same thing is true of the first-class tourist, bouncing happily from the Ritz in Paris to the Riviera or St. Moritz and home again.

But not everyone seems to realize that European progress toward recovery has virtually stopped, and that Western Europe is on the verge of economic and political disaster, and that these things have happened because of American military policy. Nor does there seem to be any general recognition, except among the best-informed foreign correspondents, that the crisis is really a crisis, and that it is here, now.

Military Aid

American policy has been and is the rearming of Western Europe as a "defense" against aggressive communism. At the start, Marshall Plan aid went largely to the reestablishment of civilian industry, and though its distribution tended to stop at the higher economic levels, it was helping the process of recovery. Now American "aid" is concentrated heavily on the military level, which always has been basically unproductive and wasteful, of course.[2] Far from helping Europe's recovery, Congressional insistence that American aid must be conditional on "Europe's helping itself," by which is meant increasing domestic military appropriations, has tightened the pincers.

Though generally the American press gives the headlines to glowing reports from NATO headquarters, the signs of this tightening can be found increasingly in the less prominent columns of responsible papers. Thus, after NATO military experts had set the European military quota at its "bare skeletal minimum," the "three wise men" headed by W. Averell Harriman and including economic experts from all NATO countries, insisted on slashing the budget by 25 per cent.[3] They pointed out that Europe literally could not bear the higher figure.

Even more significantly, a *New York Times* survey[4] pointed out that "for want of a functioning capital market, [European] Governments are forced to try the wholly new experiment of financing large-scale rearmament out of current tax receipts. *The United States is the most powerful fiscal unit in the world and the United States has not been able to do this.*" (Italics added.)

The same article, referring to a "widely held acceptance" among tax experts that 25 to 30 percent of the national income is the maximum that government revenue can take in a nontotalitarian state without leading to continuous inflation, points out that at the present time taxes in Western European countries are taking from 33 to 36 percent of the national income. And this proportion, if NATO military commitments are to be met, must be still further increased!

The United States, rich in natural resources, industrial plant and productivity, is not attempting to finance its enormous arms program entirely out of current taxes yet Americans are beginning to know what a reduced standard of living can mean. For them it will mean inability to buy a new car or a new house. American taxes

[2] The 1953 proposed U. S. program of $7.9 billion foreign aid would be divided as follows: direct military aid—$5.35 billion; "defense support" (raw materials, commodities, machinery, etc.)—$1.82 billion; economic and technical assistance—$656 million.

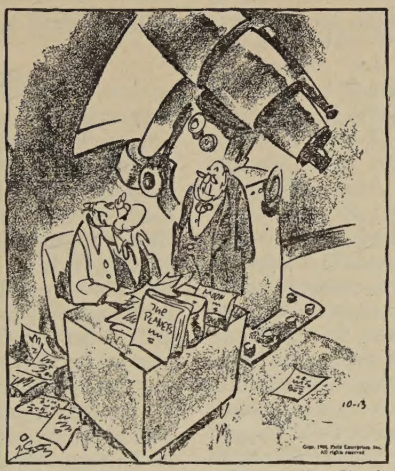
[3] Seymour Frieden and William Richardson, *New York Post*, Feb. 18, 1952.

[4] March 16, 1952

currently take $459 of the average man's theoretical $1721 share of the national product, leaving him $1262 to spend.

The average Frenchman starts with $661, and has left after taxes $396. Western Germans can do their riotous living for a year on the $250 left to them after the government goes to work on their theoretical $475, while the Dutchman is almost as badly off with $294 out of $563. Worst off of all are the Italians, whose relatively "low" taxes still reduce their theoretical $271 to a take-home average of $184.[5]

Americans who are having trouble making ends meet on their $1262 can judge with what relish the Europeans hear that they are expected to pay higher taxes! Two French governments in succession fell this year when they proposed tax increases for arms, and a third survived only by evading the issue temporarily with vague talk of "economies." Britain, electing a Tory government that had promised to ease Labor's austerity program, has been handed the news that imports, mostly foodstuffs, must be cut by £500 million, and that tourists may take out of Britain something less than $75 annually. The British already have reduced their arms program, and face the need for still further belt-tightening unless it is cut still more. With all their economies and austerity, their heavy unfavorable trade balance and almost nonexistent gold and dollar reserve keep them on the thin edge of disaster.



Lichty Chicago Sun-Times Syndicate

"After intensive study, I am convinced that life on Mars is practically impossible . . . just as it is on Earth. . . ."

How will the people of Europe react to all this? Governments and financiers, absolutely dependent on American dollars, have no choice but to accept American decisions on combating communism, regardless of their private misgivings. And their misgivings must be enormous. After one post-Lisbon meeting of the French cabinet, held to discuss ways of financing the increased French military commitments, the Minister of Finance had to rush over to the Bank of France to make a temporary loan to meet the government payroll. The treasury literally had not enough money to pay the help!

But the masses of the people have not the vested interests of governments and businessmen in continuing the status quo. To the average worker, barely keeping body and soul together, there can be little but bitter irony to an announcement that his income is to be still further reduced in order to defend his standard of living!

[5] Ibid.

Communists are strong in France and Italy, and numerous in the rest of Western Europe. They lose no opportunity to "explain" Europe's plight as the result of American exploitation in the interest of preserving American power and American wealth. The argument must strike a responsive chord in millions of Europeans. To the feeling that "anything would be an improvement over this" must be added the widespread recognition that "defense" is at best a euphemism for Europe. If war comes—and many Europeans are more apprehensive about America's precipitating it than Russia—their countries are finished. The battles and the bombings would complete the job that two world wars so devastatingly began. Winston Churchill is only one of the British leaders to voice the realization that his country, being transformed into America's advance atomic-bombing base, must herself expect to be thoroughly plastered with atomic bombs if war breaks out.

Discontent Growing

It is hard to see how the lid can be kept much longer on this seething kettle of discontent. There have been signs already of a quiet reduction of formal NATO goals for the immediate future. The French recourse to that country's most right-wing government since the war suggests the possibility of totalitarianism of the extreme right coming into power in order to prevent complete deterioration of the West's military alliance, yet this in the end can only increase the discontent and play into the hands of the Communists. Waves of revolt, active or passive, are not impossible.

All this adds up to an exceedi
ingly gloomy picture, and the ac
tual developments of the future ar
quite likely to bear it out. Ye
there may be more hopeful possi
bilities hidden in this explosiv
situation, and pacifists especiall
should remember that the whol
course of history may be altered b
some totally unforeseen factor.

Possible Solution

If the European "defense com
munity" disintegrates as a mili
tary alliance, what will th
United States do? The impulse c
some will be an immediate cessa
tion of all aid to the Continen
Others, ridden by fear, will coun
sel the launching of "preventiv
war" against Russia as the only re
course left. Either of these course
would be catastrophic, of course
and could mean the end of hope s
far as this civilization is concerne

But other courses are possible
A Europe driven by desperatio
to give up the illusion of militar
defense could be the catalyst tha
would unite all the drives for peac
and secure a disarmed world. I
might shock the United States int
a realization of the almost wholl
negative quality of its presen
course, and bring healthier cur
rents of thought to the surface here

Whatever is to happen, though, i
is certain that something must
and in the not too distant future
What is true of Western Europe
economically, is true also of mos
of the rest of the world. Asia an
the Near East struggle for a bette
life out of a depth of poverty o
which most Americans cannot ever
conceive. (The *Chinese* share o
their national income is $27 pe
person annually!) So does Africa

(*Continued on page* 32)

Thine Is the Power

The Spiritual Life Committee of the National Council

A WORLD GONE MAD FOR POWER over material possessions and ent on destruction is our dwelling lace today. Its frantic drives can e met and redirected only by per- ons who are in possession of their nner selves. "In patience you will ossess your souls," said Jesus, as e spoke of powerful adversaries vho could betray and kill the body, ut who are powerless to harm the nner man. Gandhi lived by a soul- orce or spiritual force that sprang rom a living faith in God, a faith e regarded as indispensable for he success of nonviolence.

How can we achieve the patience o possess ourselves, to build the oul-force that can bear tortures vithout a murmur of resentment, nd can break down violence and ate with love and trust? "Only in His strength are we strong," said Gandhi. "Thine is the power," said esus.

The extent to which we can open ur minds and feelings today to uch Strength and Power deter- nines our words and acts now. Our openness to this Power through he days and years is deciding our bility to give creative responses n times of crisis. Only as we make urselves open channels for the in- lowing of God's grace can an out- ouring of His Spirit come through s to a stricken world.

The most powerful movements of history have been disciplined movements. The outstanding people in any field have been disciplined people. There is a group in the FOR who, convinced of the importance and necessity of finding ways to release such power in their own lives, have adopted disciplines for themselves. Each person, of course, must work out his own precise form but we are proposing here a simple pattern that we have undertaken and are offering to the Fellowship as a whole in the hope that it may prove helpful.* Many Fellowship members already practice a much more rigorous discipline to their credit and blessing. Others may find here suggestions they would like to ponder and adapt or adopt. A discipline that is really meaningful is chosen out of conviction, and though at first arduously pursued later yields the peaceable fruits of freedom and joyousness.

Though the chief purpose of a discipline is to help make the Fellowship a much fuller channel of God's power, we feel that it will have accompanying values. It will satisfy as nothing else can that need for "something we can do in common." There has been a fre-

* The National Council approved this step while emphasizing that there must be no compulsion and no tendency to measure one's quality of membership by whether or not he uses the discipline.

quent expression among our members of the need for such a "binding" element. We are so widely scattered, our interests and commitments are so varied, that we often fail to feel that we are really working together, that we are a "fellowship." Through the use of discipline we may achieve a greater sense of "unity in commitment" and a clarification of our purposes. The way of life of our Fellowship will be fostered and inevitably our spiritual roots will be deepened.

A Discipline

1. *For the individual, two periods of prayer and meditation daily; one at least fifteen minutes in length.*
2. *For all of us together, five minutes of prayer for peace daily, at the noon hour if possible.*
3. *Yearly participation in at least one retreat for spiritual development.*
4. *Practice of simplicity in the material things of life.*
5. *A weekly period of study in pacifist and related matters.*
6. *Concern and action in the development of cell groups: sharing in the life of a cell, or if none is available, working to form one.*
7. *A personal commitment of time (at least three hours a week) for specific peace work.*
8. *Participation in a weekly sacrificial meal and contribution of the money saved to the work of reconciliation.*

Our cover personalities

THE O'SHEAS

by the Editor

UP IN THE FAR northwestern corner of Vermont, not much more than a good heave of a rock from Canada, lies the village of Swanton, center of the dairy and farming east shore of Lake Champlain. Coming from the lake, you drive into Swanton across a bridge over a small-sized river where the early spring pike is famous among fishermen, and up a hill toward the center of the town. On the right the first building has a sign identifying it as the club-house of the Veterans of Foreign Wars; the next is the home of *The Swanton Courier* and of its editors, Bernard and Sheila O'Shea, both veterans of the wartime Navy, both postwar members of the FOR.

Bun and Sheila put themselves deep in hock a few years ago to buy *The Courier*, but they run it with a zestful independence that is amentably rare among weekly newspapers, and turn out a product in which any professional newspaperman could take pride. Its news items are concise and accurately edited; its editorials, ranging freely from the local water system to American foreign policy and back again, are informed and penetrating to a degree not often seen in many larger journals. Nor is an occasional scoop beyond the O'Sheas, as when Bun ran up to Montreal a few months ago to have lunch with Paul Cadbury, British candymaker who was a member of the Quaker delegation to Russia. The result was an interview published in *The Courier* and expanded for *The Progressive*.

To the O'Sheas, the issue of peace or war is the most important on the books. Feeling this, they share their concern freely with their readers. When Vermont's Senator Flanders advises the Senate to "try God" instead of relying exclusively on armaments, the O'Sheas applaud and ask the Senator to be a bit more explicit. When General Motors' Charles Wilson warns that the country is spending too much money on arms, the O'Sheas contrast his attitude with that of General Electric's Charles Wilson—then Washington's mobilization chief—and make some telling observations of their own on the whole business of arms and war. And when the VFW urged Bun to join, he said sure, he wanted to be neighborly, after warning that he disagreed fundamentally with a lot of the organization's policies and would be not at all reticent about saying so.

In all this, the O'Sheas do not make the mistake of "propagandizing" their readers, or talking down to them. They recognize their fellow Vermonters as the clear-thinking, alert and independent individuals most of them are, and talk to them through the columns of their paper in the reasonable, adult tone suitable for conversations between equals. It is probably this attitude as much as anything that has made it possible for Bun and Sheila, in three short years, to put so large a dent in the tired old myth that Vermonters will not accept to their friendship and counsels any "outlander" who has not lived in the state at least half his life. To the naked eye, at least, Northwestern Vermont and the O'Sheas (including the editors' three sons) are doing nicely.

Not for capital, not for labor, not for government, these men each attempted to outline

An Econom

Henry George's Search for the Right Relationship Between Men and Their Environment and God

By MARIAN SCOTT HAHN

ONE OF THE MOST PUZZLING of economic manifestations, and one to which baffled economists sometimes devote the study of a whole lifetime, is the recurring cycle of boom and depression. About a hundred years ago Henry George, not only baffled but concerned by the increasing poverty in the midst of increasing industrial progress, began to study the laws of God and man to find the cause and cure of this disease.

As pacifists we, too, see unemployment as one of the forces pushing nations toward militarism and war, and like George we seek its cause and cure. We strive for equal opportunity for men of all nations, colors, or creeds, but we think too little of the nature of economic justice. Too many of us accept the idea of the welfare state, or of some form of socialism, not because we have explored all avenues toward economic justice, but because we have not.

The philosophy of Henry George is based so firmly on the brotherhood of all mankind that it seems strange that pacifists should, to a large extent, ignore it. He was concerned primarily with man's rig to use the earth to produce tho things he has need of. His boo *Progress and Poverty,* is based the premise that God created t earth, and gave it not to a few, b to all men, and to the children men, who by the very act of bei born acquire shares in this, the g of God. If any man be denied t opportunity to use the earth, must subsist on the bounty of t state, or of other men, or die.

In order to adapt our econom life to this truth, George believe that we must first analyze the pro ess by which man uses the earth produce wealth. He saw in produ tion three factors: land, labor, a capital.

"Land," he says, "necessarily i cludes, not merely the surface the earth, but the whole materi universe outside of man himself The term includes farm land, c land, minerals in the earth—a that God has given to man to u for the satisfaction of his wants.

"Labor includes all human exe tion in the production of wealth Not only physical, but ment

(*Continued on page* 14)

or People

Ralph Borsodi's Experiments in Simplifying His Way of Making a Living

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT, if not misleading, to attempt to contain the meaning of the life work of Ralph Borsodi in a word like "decentralization" or a phrase like "education for living." So many things of importance are involved in the movement with which Mr. Borsodi has become identified, as one of its leading protagonists and interpreters, that a brief description of what he has done and is doing should be more useful than any effort at "classification" of his activities.

In 1920, Mr. and Mrs. Borsodi and their two small sons were living in a New York City apartment. He was an advertising and marketing consultant serving such firms as R. H. Macy and the American Cotton Spool Co. This was the year of the great post-war housing shortage, and when the eviction epidemic suddenly rendered the Borsodis homeless in a metropolis where rents were skyrocketing, they decided to try the experiment they had often talked about—to move to the country. They finally bought a small house near Suffern, New York, about an hour and three quarters by train from the city. There were *no* improvements—no running water, no plumbing, gas, electricity or steam heat. They took with them their city furniture, a little capital, and a large amount of daring. While Mrs. Borsodi had spent her childhood until the age of twelve on a Western ranch, Mr. Borsodi had virtually no experience in the practical arts of rural life. But the experiment worked. Mr. Borsodi reports this family adventure in *Flight from the City:*

> Before the end of the first year, the year of the depression of 1921 when millions were tramping the streets of our cities looking for work, we began to enjoy the feeling of plenty which the city-dweller never experiences. We cut our hay; gathered our fruit; made gallons and gallons of cider. We had a cow, and produced our own milk and butter, but finally gave her up. By furnishing us twenty quarts of milk a day she threatened to put us into the dairy business. So we changed to a pair of blooded Swiss goats. We equipped a poultry-yard, and had eggs, chickens, and fat roast capons. We ended the year with plenty not only for our own needs but for a generous hospitality to our friends—some of whom were

out of work—a hospitality which, unlike city hospitality, did not involve purchasing everything we served our guests.

During this period—and until 1932—Mr. Borsodi kept on with his business activities. He did not become an all-out "farmer," nor was the program for living which the Borsodis worked out primarily a venture in agriculture. "We quickly abandoned," he says, "all efforts to raise anything to sell." Home production was limited to home consumption, and they "mechanized" as many as possible of the operations of the household economy, for both efficiency and the sake of leisure time.

This was the first stage of the experiment—interesting, suggestive, and a testament to the resourcefulness of both the Borsodis, but hardly of revolutionary implications.

An Improbable Idea

The second stage began, it seems, with Mrs. Borsodi's improbable idea that she could can tomatoes more cheaply than they could be bought at the store. She tried it, and she proved it—that is, she produced the canned tomatoes and Mr. Borsodi produced the economic analysis, covering all costs, which showed that *"the cost of the home-made product was between 20 percent and 30 percent lower than the price of the factory-made merchandise."* This discovery led to a lot more thinking. As Borsodi puts it:

> How was it possible, I kept asking myself, for a woman, working all alone, to produce canned goods at a lower cost than could the Campbell Soup Company with its fine division of labor, its efficient management, its labor-saving machinery, its quantity buying, its mass-production economics? Unless there was some mistake in our calculations this experiment knocked all the elaborate theories framed by economists to explain the industrial revolution, into a cocked hat. Unless we had failed to take some element of which I was ignorant into consideration, the economic activities of mankind for nearly two hundred years had been based upon a theory as false as its maritime activities prior to the discovery of the fact that the world was round.

Finally, after extended study of the problem, resulting, incidentally, in publication of two books (*National Advertising vs. Prosperity* and *The Distribution Age*) and several articles, Mr. Borsodi formulated his explanation in terms of an economic law: *Distribution costs tend to move in inverse relationship to production costs.* Actually, he found, less than a third of the selling price of goods purchased at retail goes to pay for raw materials and the cost of manufacture. "Transportation, warehousing, advertising, salesmanship, wholesaling, retailing—all these aspects of distribution cost more than the whole cost of fabricating the goods themselves." Mrs. Borsodi's canned tomatoes were "distributed" as soon as they were finished—the point of production and the point of consumption were the same. In *Flight from the City,* Mr. Borsodi generalizes his conclusion:

> All the orthodox economic teachings to which I had subscribed underwent a complete transformation as soon as I fully digested the implications of this discovery.
>
> I discovered that more than two-thirds of the things which the average family now buys could be produced more economically at home than they could be bought factory made;
>
> —that the average man and woman could earn more by producing at home than by working for money in an office or factory and that, therefore, the less time

they spent working away from home and the more time they spent working at home, the better off they would be;

—finally, that the home itself was still capable of being made into a productive and creative institution and that an investment in a homestead equipped with efficient domestic machinery would yield larger returns per dollar of investment than investment in insurance, in mortgages, in stocks and bonds.

Ostensibly, Mr. Borsodi's inspiration grew out of a successful challenge to one major cultural delusion—the idea that bigger and better factories inevitably mean better and cheaper living for human beings. It is true that the initial statistical support for his conclusions grew out of a dollars-and-cents analysis of home production versus large-scale factory production. But the thing that distinguishes Mr. Borsodi's contribution from ordinary economic analysis is the fact that it represents theory that has been *lived,* so that economics forms only a part—even a subordinate part, perhaps—of the social philosophy developed from this family uodertaking. Through the years, the emphasis of Mr. Borsodi's work has grown increasingly educational, until today the broad idea of education for living has become the keynote of his approach. In his later works, such as *This Ugly Civilization* (1929), and the compendious edition of *Education and Living* (1948) in two volumes, the discontents and harassments of contemporary life are examined in exhaustive detail. Apparently, Borsodi's exposé of the industrial delusion led him to penetrate veil after veil of other delusions of modern civilization.

The writings of Ralph Borsodi are characterized by a peristent social idealism and sympathy for the "average man" which impart an inner dynamism to his fact-minded studies and analyses. They are pervaded, also, with the glow of enthusiasm of one who has personally put his ideas to work, and who is writing, not for college professors, not merely to add to a body of "scientific knowledge," but primarily for other human beings—other men, women, and families—who may make the ideas their own and also put them to work. The values in his books are not "academic," but represent, for many readers, a kind of "El Dorado" dream of release from the artificial, "getting and spending" frame of mind in which the prevailing cultural pattern involves them.

Rich Experience

Efforts to apply the principles formulated in Mr. Borsodi's books seem to produce a friendly eagerness to communicate and share the spirit of personal discovery. This is strikingly illustrated in *Normal Living,* an enlarged quarterly edition of *The Interpreter.* (*The Interpreter* is edited by Mildred Loomis in association with Mr. Borsodi, semi-monthly, at Brookville, Ohio.) A recent issue of *Normal Living* contains articles by members of homestead communities which were either established directly from the influence of Mr. Borsodi's ideas, or represent parallel efforts. This magazine is rich in the fertility of personal experience and in the desire to spread the inspiration that seems an invariable accompaniment of the effort to live a natural and individually productive existence.

This Ugly Civilization pursues further and develops the themes

and questions which are announced with the impact of a personal testament in *Flight from the City*. Here, the author shows his competence not only as an economist, but also as a critic of the psycho-social disorders of modern industrial civilization. Many writers have attacked the social effects of "the machine," but Borsodi is almost unique in pressing his analysis far enough to show what could very well become a new type of revolution through the intelligent use of machinery. As he says:

> It is easy to forget that the distinctive feature of our present industrial civilization is not so much our machine technique as it is our factory technique. It is the impressive use of machinery by the factory that makes us forget that there is a significant distinction between the domestic machine and the factory machine.

A sample of the sort of commentary that one finds in *This Ugly Civilization* is Borsodi's notation of the fact that while the great power laundries have liberated many women from washtubs and ironing boards, their freedom depends upon the condition *"that many other women work in laundries."* He is not interested in a merely private escape from drudgery, but in the evolution of a social community which will help to free all its members from even the possibility of being victimized by industrialization. Instead of wanting to "organize" the proletariat for social revolution, he wants to abolish—wants *us* to abolish—the system which has created a proletariat.

Education and Living is a full-length examination of modern society in all its major aspects, in which conventional institutions are studied in terms of their actual effect upon human beings, not according to their honorific titles. In this work, Mr. Borsodi uses the resources of modern sociology and social philosophy, but again, he avoids the production of a merely academic study. This work does not have the primitive stimulus of *Flight from the City*—and if you read anything of Borsodi's, read *Flight from the City* first—but it does carry out to broad social and educational conclusions the ideas which were born from practical personal experience.

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MARIAN SCOTT HAHN

(*Continued from page* 10)

labor, planning and managing, accounting and recording, all work of brain or brawn, when expended in production, is labor.

It is possible, George explains, to produce wealth simply by the application of labor to land. I gather birds' eggs or wild berries. I apply my labor directly to the land, and receive as wages exactly what I produce.

"Wages," then, "is that portion of production received by labor," and in the simplest economic situation is the whole of what is produced by applying labor to land.

But it is difficult for man to live simply by gathering berries and birds' eggs. For his labor to be efficient he must have not only labor and land, but capital. He makes a house in which to keep the egg-laying birds, and this hen-house becomes his capital. With it he can secure many more eggs than he otherwise could. Instead of gather-

ing wild berries, he makes a plow, and with the aid of this capital he can now plant corn, and his labor will produce more food than before.

"Capital is that portion of wealth used in the production of more wealth." Tools, factories, trains, and ships are forms of capital. That portion of production received by the owners of capital is interest.

Thus far most economists agree with George, although few are so precise in their use of words and logical in their thinking. Many of our present-day economists consider land as a part of capital, ignoring, rather than refuting, the argument that it is by its very nature as different from capital as it is from labor. It is his treatment of land and the income received for the use of land that makes George's theory of economics radical and religious. It is here that he parts company with the Socialists, the Communists, the conservatives, and the advocates of the welfare state.

The Owner's Share

As wages is the return labor receives for its part in production, and interest is the return capital receives for its part in production, so rent is the return the owner of the land receives, but he contributes nothing to production, for God created the land. His right to any portion of the wealth created by the joint efforts of labor and capital is based on tradition and man-made law, not on justice. His share, nevertheless, is considerable. From today's press we learn that in New York's Long Island 20 x 100 foot lots that were selling for $750 last year are now priced around $1000; that the rent-of-land under Radio City's buildings is reported to be $3,250,000; that land under one of Pittsburgh's department stores rents for $1000 per day.

Whence comes this rental value, greater by far today than in George's time? Why does some land have more value than other land? Certainly not because some land is more fertile than other land, for the highest priced land in this or any country is urban land. It is the presence of people that gives land value, and this value is directly affected by their activities. Men build a bridge and rents rise, although the landowners who receive the increased rents supply none of the labor, capital, or land for the bridge.

Farm Program

Recently a new method of freezing orange juice was perfected. The rinds are used for cattle food, while the juice is delivered to the consumer tasting like fresh juice ready for the table. The price of good land suitable for orange groves jumped from $15 an acre to $125, although the owners of the land had no part in perfecting the new method of preparing orange juice.

The present administration has a farm program designed to help farmers. Let us see who actually is benefited. A farmer wants to buy 80 acres in North Carolina. The government says he can grow tobacco on only 10 acres, but with the crop price guaranteed he may have to pay $200 an acre for the tobacco ground, and only $100 an acre for the remaining 70. Thus, even the government subsidy tends to go to the farmer only insofar as he is also a land owner, which all too often he is not.

The more we investigate the role that economic rent plays in modern

industrial life, the more facts we gather that corroborate George's theory. He believed that since the value of land arises from the activities of the community, the rent should go to the community in the form of taxes, and not to individuals, corporations, or estates, chosen haphazard by an indifferent fate to receive it. He believed that all other taxes were wrong, and should be abolished.

The Single Tax

Like pacifism, George's theory is not very well known, and has today only a small, though very devoted, following. During his life there was much publicity and activity, at the culmination of which George was almost elected mayor of New York City. Tolstoy became a George convert; Sun Yat Sen assisted in translating *Progress and Poverty* into Chinese.

Land-value taxation has been adopted to some extent in a number of places. In Pittsburgh and Scranton buildings are taxed only half as much as land. In California some irrigation projects have been financed by land-value taxation. In Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Denmark the most progress has been made. It may be that Denmark's high employment record, her adequate housing, and her extremely low rate of tenancy may be largely due to her partial adoption of land-value taxation. There is an international organization of Georgists working for tax reform; there is a Henry George School giving free extension courses in Progress and Poverty in most cities.

The role that economic rent plays in world events is greater than we think. Marguerite Higgins, a war correspondent writing from Korea, said in an article in *The Saturday Evening Post*: "There is little doubt that North Koreans are taking their cue from the tactics of the Chinese Communists and are pursuing a clever policy. As they move forward, they immediately proclaim the land reform which was so long delayed in South Korea." But Communist land reform is merely a redistribution of land—taking from some, and giving to others—and is inevitably followed by collectivism. Land need not be purchased by freedom.

In Italy peasants, led by Communists, have been squatting on the unused land of large estates. In the Philippines the Hukbalahaps, with a guerilla army once estimated at 60,000, demand land reform. This is no academic question; and understanding of economic rent is essential to an understanding of the forces that will bring war or peace, prosperity or depression to our generation.

It is easy to accept our system of land tenure and our system (or lack of system) of taxation, as it is easy to accept the rising sun and the moving tides as a part of the world to which we are accustomed. Not long ago it was easy to accept slavery, and most men today accept war. Historically land ownership has no ethical basis, most lands having been acquired originally through war and conquest.

Tax reform may not be the answer to the problems of famine, selfishness, and human cussedness generally, but if such reform will give to all men the right to use the earth to produce those things they need, we may have found one of the keys that will eventually open to us a world of economic security and peace.

ANN MORRISSETT WRITES A

Letter from Spain

ONE MONTH OF DRIVING through Spain doesn't qualify anyone as an expert on Franco, but it can demonstrate at least superficial resemblances the Spanish dictatorship bears to other dictatorships of this century. "El Caudillo" Franco is not, of course, referred to in Spain as a dictator, and in fact you can find many uncomplimentary books on dictators—Stalin for example—in most Spanish bookstores. You can also find books on that old Bolshevik Roosevelt, notably John T. Flynn's biography of F. D. R., while the Caudillo's old anti-Bolshevik friend Hitler is mainly represented on the bookstands, so far as I could see, by *Mein Kampf*.

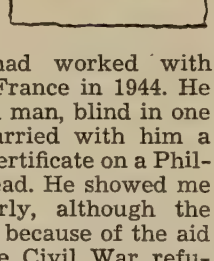
The Spanish press followed the anti-Communist fight in Korea with great interest, the general implication being that the Spanish government told us so all along, and if the U. S. had joined Franco, Hitler, and Mussolini in the war ("the war" in Spain always refers to the Spanish Civil War) the world would have had Stalin off its hands long ago. What it would have had left on its hands other than the usual blood of John Doe, you can assume, is one big, happy daisy chain around the world of paternal Christian caudillos.

Also conspicuous among reading matter on Madrid news-stands are the Luce-papers, which have apparently been long forgiven for any unkind things they ever said about Franco when it was all right in the U. S. to do so. Luce's enthusiasm for Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee and his antipathy to Stalin and Roosevelt appear in Spain as out and out signals of Franco's imminent acceptance in the new chain of statesmen. There is perhaps still a residue of anti-American feeling left among the Spanish upper class from Franco's former party line, but *Time* and *Life* will no doubt help to heal these wounds.

Because Spain has not been admitted to membership and also because of the type of people who *have* been admitted, the UN is still not considered a very respectable outfit to belong to, and on one outdoor wall in Madrid, in large painted letters like those on the walls and houses throughout Spain, are the words ABAJO O.N.U. VIVA ESPANA!, or *Down with the U. N., Long Live Spain!* Other wall decorations, seemingly also official ones, confine themselves to VIVA FRANCO; COMMUNISM NO, FRANCO SI; ARRIBA ESPANA; and various noble-sounding and innocuous quotations from Franco such as "Spain is for all the Spanish who serve her." Many signs merely say in letters three feet high FRANCO FRANCO FRANCO. Among the few unofficial-looking

wall-writings, I discovered FRANCO PELON, which as near as I can figure means Franco the Baldheaded. I suppose this could be considered a moderately strong indictment in a Latin country, but I am not concluding that it's a trend.

This scrawl, incidentally, was in Barcelona, where there is a large industrial population and where loyalist resistance to the insurgents was greatest. In the old section of Barcelona I got into a discussion with a guide in a museum, and discovered in the course of our conversation that he had worked with the Quakers in France in 1944. He was a thin, timid man, blind in one eye, and still carried with him a kind of Quaker certificate on a Philadelphia letterhead. He showed me the paper eagerly, although the Quakers, mainly because of the aid they gave to the Civil War refugees, are not allowed to work in Spain. Being both former employees of the AFSC and admirers of their works and methods, the guide and I then felt free to ask and answer any questions, and he told me that in his opinion there was an increasing amount of talk against Franco, although there was no organized or democratic method of registering the feeling. He referred several times to the force keeping Franco in power and on closer questioning indicated that he meant mainly the Catholic Church. You are Catholic yourself? I asked. Of course, he replied; everyone in Spain has to be. He told me further that all education



was under the church and had t be paid for, and that his own chil dren were being taught in schoo that Franco was the Christia savior of Spain against communism brought to this position, as Spanis coins with Franco portraits say, b the grace of God. The guide as sured me, hesitantly and a littl sadly, that there were many thing he agreed with in Christian an other religious ethics, and that th Spanish did not want more wa but still there were many like him self who had almost found them selves hoping that Franco woul have been taken care of by th Allies when the other fascist dic tators were defeated. But th chances of saving the worl through anyone's death, we muse didn't look any better now tha they had in the time of Julius Caesar. Motioning to one of th ancient wooden carvings in his mu seum, the guide said, "What can do? I'm just like one of these."

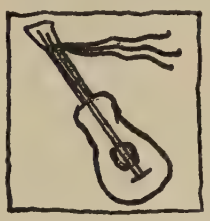
Waiting outside the museum wa his father, a little old man who ha been a painter in Paris and a frien of Picasso's Only when h saw that w mentione Picasso freel did he stat that he fel fortunate t have know him. The nam of Picasso—who under the electe republic had been appointed minis ter of Bellas Artes in Spain, putting under his direction all art muse ums, art schools, and matters per taining to the Fine Arts—is no very often heard in Spain, we dis covered, although it is possible t find an occasional book on Picasso especially of his more conserva-

ive blue and rose periods, in the ew avant-garde bookstores of Madrid or Barcelona—an indication that Spanish bookburning has ot been too rigorous in some respects.

In fact I felt a certain laxity hroughout Spain, in spite of the reat number of soldiers everywhere with long guns. This was erhaps also the case in Italy under Mussolini, and I am inclined not to nderestimate the importance of ood eating and lengthy relaxation at meal times in the Latin ountries in accounting for a certain amount of delightfully unSaxonic inefficiency. The civil uard buildings in all the small illages we passed through were he best-kept buildings in town, utside of the churches, and usually contrasted greatly with the rumbling dwellings where dirty, agged children lived and played.

n almost every desert town in he long, dry tretch between Valencia and Madrid there were government notices orbidding begging, and in ach of these towns we were met with scrawny, outstretched hands. Most of the children had red, unny eyes too, and on as accurate a guess as I can make would say that one out of ive Spaniards has an eye infection. This does not include all the otally blind in Spain, who are perhaps more conspicuous than in other countries because they are on the streets rather than in institutions. They are kept busy, however: they sell tickets to the national lottery, which enables the Spanish government to kill several birds with one stone.

Madrid, a rich modern city rising from the desert, has probably led innumerable foreign tourists to believe that Spain has few social problems. I walked all over Madrid and found it full of parks, modern buildings, good plumbing, and practically no full-scale slums. After seeing the surrounding countryside, however, we could only surmise that the wealth gleaned from those dry plateaus was all concentrated and on display in this one small area.



The face of the land changed considerably as we drove north, and suddenly near the Atlantic Coast it became a misty, green, moor-and-mountain scene resembling parts of England and Switzerland. There were many more small farms, and people and houses appeared richer and in much better physical condition. I suppose this is just as typically Spain as the Madrid area, yet we had the feeling that all this was only an indication that we were nearing France and would soon be able to breathe a little more freely.

But who am I? I have no strength save what God gives me. I have no authority over my countrymen save the purely moral. If He holds me to be a pure instrument for the spread of nonviolence in the place of the awful violence now ruling the earth, He will give me the strength and show me the way.

—M. K. GANDHI

News from the Peace Front

Distributes Land to India's Landless

A veritable revolution in India's land situation is being accomplished, albeit gradually, by Vinoba Bhave, follower of Mahatma Gandhi, and for many years his intimate and trusted colleague. Afoot, with the simplest of speech his chosen weapon, he is effecting a redistribution, on a purely voluntary basis, of Indian rural property.

Vinoba Bhave's approach, called "Bhoo-dan Yanga," or "Land-gift Mission," is an attempt to solve nonviolently the problem of the great inequality in land ownership that prevails in India today.

A typical day with Bhave and his retinue of about fourteen people consists of rising at 3:30 A.M., attending group prayer at 4:30, and at 5:00 beginning the fifteen mile trek to the next village, which is reached at about 10:00. Here he speaks to the people, who have gathered in hundreds, sometimes thousands, and asks for contributions of land. He says the "land is like the mother of people, like air and water and sunshine, so everyone has a claim to land, especially those who work on it."

In the afternoon he appoints a local committee to mete out to the town's neediest families any land that has been contributed, and the Bhoo-dan Yanga is finally ready to go to sleep at 8:00 P.M. In the colloquialism of American travelling companies, it is always a one night stand.

Vinoba Bhave, who is fifty-six years old, began his endeavor in 1951. In his initial drive he secured and distributed at least 35,000 acres, and this success induced the government to offer him ten million acres of government-owned land needing reclamation, but capable of being made tillable, for distribution.

Build House for Cocopah Indians

Adobe construction was introduced to the Cocopah Indians, near Somerton, Arizona, by the Southwest Area Fellowship of Reconciliation early last month at the third annual Cocopah Work Camp, held during Holy Week, April 7-12.

Twenty young people devoted the week to the construction of a "House for Cocopah," a building intended to supply the women of the tribe with a sewing room, which is to be mechanically equipped.

During the three years of the work camps, three wells have been sunk, pumps installed, a playground made with teeter-totters, swings, horizontal bars, and basketball courts; and the tribe's "Cry House," for Indian ceremonials, was rebuilt.

The week this year was climaxed with a great party, to which the 303 members of the tribe were invited, and in which tribal singers chanted and danced in collaboration with the twenty work campers.

Children Broadcast Call for Peace

At exactly 17 o'clock on May 18 (Welsh time) short wave radios tuned to 341 meters could hear the children of Wales deliver their annual message of peace to the world —a plea from Wales that has been going out for thirty years now. Broadcast on "Goodwill Day"—on May 18, 1899, the first peace conference at The Hague opened—this year will mark the thirty-first consecutive year that Wales, through her children, has called for peace on earth and good will among men.

The message has been received and replied to by some seventy countries spread over the globe, including Australia, Soviet Russia, Java, Tasmania, China, Zululand, and the United States.

Last year, in a broadcast reply, children from FOR-member Kees Boeke's school in Holland began, "Is there any hope? We are powerless against the terrible forces which rule the world." But they ended with the statement, "We children must begin! The peoples of the world are waiting for us to band together."

Urge Churches State Peace Aims

Recently the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, USA, transmitted to the Division of Foreign Missions of the National Council of Churches a memorandum which stated: "The time has come for the church to assume moral responsibility for the peace movement, giving it Christian content, replacing present indecision with a genuine will to peace and electrifying the church with a sense of mission and urgency."

The document springs from the fact that, even if the churches in the United States can ignore the necessity of meeting communism, including the Communist "peace" program, missionaries and churches in Asia and Africa cannot blind themselves to this need and expect to survive. The statement suggests that "a strong, courageous statement of their peace aims" should be made by the churches and that "the American churches, particularly, need to make such a statement, because of the harm being done abroad by our publicizing of our economic strength, and military power. Fear of the United States is spreading overseas, a fear almost equal to that felt for communism."

The National Council of Churches has decided that this issue should be included in its 1953 emphasis program.

Rustin for Africa

Members of the Fellowship will be interested to know that Bayard Rustin will be travelling in Africa this summer, and consulting with revolutionary leaders concerning the use of nonviolent resistance in their struggle for freedom. Because there is no provision for such expenses in the regular budget of the FOR, they must be raised through appeals to individuals particularly concerned with the eventual solution of the problems of Africa by nonviolent means. Any members who know persons who might be interested in making such a contribution are urged to get in touch with Bayard Rustin at the FOR office immediately.

Canada to Hold Training Unit

A pacifist training unit, built along the lines of last summer's Peekskill workshop in the U. S., is being planned by the Canadian Fellowship of Reconciliation. The training unit is scheduled to operate between the 18th and the 25th of May at the FOR Winterbrook Community Center, Hornby, Ontario.

A tentative program for the project includes lectures in peace philosophy, technique, and peace-oriented facts, figures and points of view. After the period of study, the trainees will be sent out in small groups to speak in young people's groups, local churches, service clubs, and community gatherings.

Every effort is being made to have a broadly representative group of young people in attendance.

Three Fired Over Loyalty Oath

Three Quakers, two of them FOR members, have lost their jobs for refusing to comply with a new law in Pennsylvania requiring loyalty oaths of public employees. Employees of all institutions which receive any aid from the state are included.

The three Friends are Helen Corson of West Chester, Eugene Mercer, Jr. of Millville, both FOR members, and Paul W. Goulding of Nazareth. Helen Corson had worked for the West Chester County Board of Public Assistance since 1937, and Mercer and Goulding were public school teachers.

The American Civil Liberties Union, which is planning a court test of the oath, is pessimistic about chances of invalidating it, however.

The American Friends Service Committee, in a "Statement on Academic Freedom" not directly connected with the new loyalty oath, said, "We believe it basically important for all people to support educational efforts which respect the right of the teacher to seek and teach truth as he finds it, and of the student to study differing views in arriving at his own judgments. The society toward which we work thrives on creative diversity and withers on coerced conformity."

Africans Initiate Disobedience Campaign

Civil disobedience on a scale that may become a mass movement of an oppressed majority against their oppressors, is being prepared in South Africa. In meetings staged throughout the Union, non-whites, who, according to the New York *Times*, "show preliminary signs of sweeping aside traditional tribal rivalries," have laid the groundwork for the campaign.

The groups responsible for the meetings, held on April 6, are the African National Congress, The South African Indian Congress, and the Franchise Action Committee.

Trained direct action groups will, according to present plans, invite arrest by ignoring "apartheid," the separation of races. They intend to violate the pass laws, which limit the free movement of colored people, and the Group Areas Act, which divides cities into racial zones; and then they will proceed

to use park benches, libraries, and other facilities normally reserved for the use of white people alone.

Dr. Daniel F. Malan, Prime Minister of South Africa, has threatened Government violence against the population should they defy "law and order" in this way. In a statement directed to the joint congresses of the South African non-European populations, he said, "It is self-contradictory to claim as an inherent right of the Bantu, who differ in many ways from the Europeans, that they should be regarded as not different, especially when it is borne in mind that these differences are permanent and not man-made. . . . The Government has no intention of repealing the long-existing laws differentiating between European and Bantu...."

Meanwhile, white South African theologians are making an effort to oust Prime Minister Malan's Nationalist Government by breaking the hold on the Dutch Reformed Church of his secret society, the Afrikander Broederbond.

Concurrent with the activities in South Africa, a mass meeting was held in Trafalgar Square, London, by the Citizens Council for Human Rights; and in New York City the South African Consulate, 655 Madison Avenue, was picketed by the Americans for South African Resistance, in which FOR members were active, and by The Catholic Worker.

British Musicians Organize for Peace

A group of British musicians organized the Musicians' Peace Organization last fall, and immediately drew fire from newspapers either implying that the group was Communist or had leanings in that direction, or else adjuring them that such activities, however innocent, played into the hands of the Communists. That charges of Communist leanings were false seemed assured by the roster of prominent non-Communist members, who included Sir Adrian Boult, President; Benjamin Britten, Vaughan Williams, Edward Dent, Gordon Jacob and Arnold Bax.

In December the MPO organized a public meeting in London which unanimously passed a resolution urging a cease-fire in Korea and requesting the withdrawal of American support from the Chiang Kai-Shek regime on Formosa.

AFSC Publishes Kits for Teachers

Kits for parents and teachers are now being made up and distributed at nominal cost by the American Friends Service Committee. The kits, which bear such titles as "Come, Let Us Read" and "Gifts That Children Can Make," are intended to supply hints, suggestions and techniques for introducing children to the idea of peace and brotherly love, in the international sense.

The Committee on Educational Materials for Children is responsible for these mimeographed guides, and will also supply on loan foreign toys, dolls, pictures, and other material of interest to children, in an effort to bring them into closer contact with other lands and cultures.

Mary Esther McWhirter, executive secretary of the Committee, is also editor of the Quaker "Newsletter for Boys and Girls," a monthly periodical.

UNESCO Challenges All to Cooperation

UNESCO is a mission for every man, according to Dr. Jaime Torres Bodet, Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. The U. S. National Commission for UNESCO recently held its third national conference, attended by representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Ruth Neuendorffer and George Paine, and of a variety of religious, educational, labor, management, and professional groups, and of the arts and sciences. Señor Bodet challenged the delegates to use UNESCO to develop solidarity among peoples of the world, not just governments, and said "Robust souls must be made."

The group on Religious Organization Work, in which Ruth Neuendorffer participated, discussed the relationship of religious feeling to the possibility of achieving a united world, and agreed that they must work to create the moral climate in which a united world can develop.

Such people as those in the FOR, Ruth Neuendorffer feels, can through the work of UNESCO join all men of good will in bringing about increased personal commitment to the idea of a united world based on spiritual values. "Our specific contribution," she says, "can be the encouraging of consistent actions based on the principle of love," such as ratification of the Genocide Convention, adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, support for the UN Children's Emergency Fund, the World Health Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

Pamphlets, film strips, recordings, radio scripts, posters, and discussion guides can be obtained through the U. S. National Commission for UNESCO, c/o UNESCO Relations Staff, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

Japanese Treaty Ratified by Senate

The treaty with Japan, strongly opposed by peace groups both in this country and Japan, was ratified by the United States Senate in March, after having been ratified by the Japanese Diet. Although they favor cordial relations with Japan, peace groups feel that the Treaty opens the door to the rearmament of Japan, and that it will be more to the disadvantage of both Japan and the United States than to their advantage.

The remilitarization of Japan was specifically forbidden in her Constitution, signed after the war. Rearmament, the peace groups feel, would be a great financial burden on Japan, would constitute a threat and therefore a provocation to other nations, and will swing Japan still further into the orbit of the United States and the West with the result that normal trade relations with China and the other countries of Asia, with whom she now does the major amount of her business, will be disrupted.

On February 28 the first enabling act resulting from the new Treaty was signed by Japanese and United States representatives, granting the U. S. armed forces bases and facilities in Japan. Even before the Treaty a force of 75,000 Japanese, called police but trained with rifles and in uniform, was brought into being.

Jottings

Mayor Impellitteri of New York City, at the request of Selective Service, has ordered a study of possibilities for the employment of war objectors by the city. Positions would be limited to hospitals and prisons.

The present government plan for COs, in the opinion of the National Service Board for COs, though far from satisfactory is an improvement over the World War I arrangement for church-sponsored camps. Prominent deficiencies, the Board feels, are the strength of the local boards over the individual and the sacrifice that may be required of some cohesive religious communities, such as the Hutterites and the Amish.

Milton Cox, a Jehovah's Witness, was acquitted of alleged army desertion by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on November 23. Cox had applied for both ministerial and CO exemptions, but the draft board never considered the latter. It denied him ministerial exemption and ordered him into the army, which he left to go home after he got his first pay check. This was in June, 1942, and he was not arrested until May, 1949.

Note

The article "I Did Not Want to Flee," by Premysl Pitter, which appeared in the February, 1952, issue of FELLOWSHIP, was reprinted from the Bulletin of the War Resisters International in England, to whom we extend much thanks.

If you are interested in investigating the merits of the vegetarian diet and the principles, economic and ethical, of the vegetarian way of living

read

The American Vegetarian

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Books

Life of a Pacifist

Some Others and Myself, by Ruth Suckow. Rinehart and Company, 1951. 281 pp., $3.00.

The publisher says that "this unique book returns Ruth Suckow to her public after a ten-year absence. It is thus a publishing event." I think the reading of this book will constitute an "event" to thousands of FELLOWSHIP readers and others who, I fervently hope, will turn to it.

About sixty percent of the book consists of seven short stories, mainly about Iowa and New England characters and scenes. These stories are what some of the author's girlhood acquaintances, whom she evokes in these tales, would call a "treat." They are penetrating, revealing of depths in human beings, but also gentle and humorous. Perhaps the story that has the most "bite" is the one about *Auntie Bissel*. Oh, yes, the scene of this one is laid mainly in California, and it should become required reading in California high school and college English courses.

The last hundred pages or so of the volume are entitled *A Memoir*. The subject of the memoir is in the first instance the author's father, a Congregational minister, who never achieved fame or "served a leading church," but who was worthy of so eminent a tribute as this. But this section of the book is also an essay on certain aspects of religious life in this country during the past half century and an account of the author's own spiritual pilgrimage which, as the publisher correctly states, is "actually a picture of the background out of which has come all her writing."

Of special interest to FELLOWSHIP readers will be the pages, charged with subdued passion, in which Miss Suckow tells of the "shocks" which some of the things that happened in churches occasioned and of "the earthquake shock" that came later with World War I when "those who had preached the gospel of love now preached the gospel of hatred: that is the tersest summation." She was not prepared for this experience: "I met that first shock of war fresh and green. My response to it was unstudied, spontaneous and actual." She knew that she "must step across a line and enter a minority group." (Ruth Suckow and her husband, Ferner Nuhn, the literary critic, have been FOR members for some years.)

I think, finally, that a good many readers will find delight, even though they may not entirely accept her theology (or lack of it?) in the author's sturdy and humorous defense of the "liberalism" in which she was brought up. Her father had a woman parishioner once who said: "It is all very well for you younger people to take up with these new-fangled notions. . . . But as for me I want to keep my hell." When later she met the son of a liberal minister who had regarded his theological upbring-

ng as "soft," she thought that "in is own theology . . . this son appeared to be looking back with earning to the specifically located ell of eternal punishment which he dear old lady had wanted to eep."

If the editor will allow me the pace, I should like to add Ruth uckow's reference to a marvelous assage in a letter of Wordsworth n which he speaks of leaning upon ature and his friends and meditatng upon the scriptures, especially ohn's Gospel, whereupon "my reed rises up of itself like an manation, yet a structure of adanant." How poor in comparison the reeds which are like an emanaion but have no adamantine qualty and those which are all adanant and no emanation!

—A. J. M.

The Life of Prayer

Ten Questions on Prayer, by Gerald Heard. Pendle Hill, 1951. 32 pp., 35c.

A Method of Prayer, by Johannes Kelpius. Harper, 1951. 127 pp., $1.50.

The ever-increasing flow of literature on the life of the spirit and prayer is surely one of the signs of the times. For those of us who believe that the survival of man depends on a genuine return to God (even as the prophets have proclaimed of old) this fact is a heartening indication that more and more men are seeking him. Sincere and earnest prayers will avail much in purifying hearts and changing history and so these books are a sign of hope.

The Pendle Hill pamphlet is a record of an actual meeting between Gerald Heard and a group of Christian laymen who sponsor The Prayer Call, a movement to encourage prayers for officials of the UN. The questions deal with specific problems that arise in the practice of intercessory prayer, such as, "Must we love someone before we can pray effectively for him?"

The questions represent a form of prayer that is aimed at affecting men and events by holding definite persons up into the light of God for definite reasons. A consistent theme runs through the answers and is given explicitly and pointedly in answer to the last question, which is, "What bearing does the quality of one's own life have on the effectiveness of his prayers for others?" The answer is, "The life is everything!"

Here then is a strong affirmation of faith in the power of prayer. "In securing peace, yes: our prayers certainly will be the best way, the most essential way, the basic way, without which everything else is failure. Without prayer there can be no 'producing constructive results in securing peace.'" But the safeguarding of this faith from practices that are superficial and border on the magical immediately follows. "But what is peace? True peace is the deepest of all things. Political and international peace is not a source of our peace, but a consequence. It is the fruit and depends on wide and deep roots."

This concern of Heard's with the deeper levels of interior prayer means that he sometimes fails to deal with the questions asked in a direct manner but uses them as a springboard for discussing that prayer which is aimed at altering one's own life and thereby at gaining that power which can be truly effective in bringing peace in the world. The questioners may not have been satisfied that their spe-

cific concerns were met, but they, and anyone else interested in prayer, can hardly fail to be challenged, stimulated and informed by the learned and sincere discussion arising out of these concerns.

The little book by Kelpius is another contribution to the list of classic writings dealing with the form of prayer close to the heart and practice of Gerald Heard. Perhaps the greatest value of the book is the light that it sheds on what was essentially a Protestant contemplative monastery in early America and on its brilliant young mystical leader Johannes Kelpius. In an excellent introduction the editor, Gordon Alderfer, describes how at the end of the Seventeenth Century Kelpius and his band of forty "monks" settled in the Wissahickon valley, which is now surrounded by Philadelphia, and developed a life that had a considerable influence on early Pennsylvania. That influence was made in the arts and sciences but its chief concern was to bring all people into an experience of the living God through prayer.

The little essay, A Method of Prayer, was written by Kelpius to fulfil this last aim. The method is not new. It is a dual use of two methods that are well known today: the practice of the Presence of God, as known through Brother Lawrence, and the practice of the prayer of simple regard as known through *The Cloud of Unknowing.* The former concern is shown in this sentence: "There is a prayer which may be performed at all times and in all places, which by nothing can be interrupted but by sin and unfaithfulness." And the latter is shown by: "This Prayer of Faith is simple, pure, universal, and obscure, without observing or distinguishing plainly the affection words, or what one prays for."

Since the style of Kelpius does not have the charm of Brother Lawrence nor the beauty of *The Cloud,* this essay will not supersede them as guides. It is, nevertheless, a valuable confirmation of their truths and it does give one insight that is very important today because there are many who are prone to think that the practice of the Presence of God does away with the tedious necessity of regular periods of prayer. To this Kelpius says, "It is a delusion to imagine that, since we enjoy the Presence of God the whole day, we need take no other time for the performance of the inward prayer. The Presence of God is the fruit and farther propagation or increase of this inward prayer; and those who omit the performance of it at certain times, under whatever pretence it may be, will not long retain the divine presence in their daily occupations."

—Francis B. Hall

Books in Brief

A good many books come into the office of Fellowship magazine —books on religion, peace, race relations; biographies and fiction; books for juveniles and for adults. Because of lack of space, we cannot review all of them, but those below, we feel, should be called to the attention of our readers.

Good Life Universal, by Eugenia and Charles Weller. World Fellowship, Inc., 1951. 435 pp., $3.50. Members of the FOR since 1923, founders of the World Fellowship center in Conway, New Hampshire, a summer resort and hostel "for friendly folks of all races, faiths, colors, countries and convictions,"

ne Wellers have here published ome of their poems, and 57 true nort stories by Eugenia Weller ased on experiences of their riends of all countries, races and olors. Mrs. Weller is a genuinely alented writer, and these true tories, some of them on small in-idents and some deeply tragic and gnificant, are of a very high cali-re.

Aftermath of Peace, by A. M. leerloo. International Universities ress, 1946. 218 pp., $2.50. Dr. leerloo, a Dutch psychiatrist who ved under the German occupa-ion for two years, escaped, and re-urned immedately after the war, iscusses the psychological inci-entals of total war, such as fear, atred and treason. He goes on to nalyze the consequences of total ar as reflected in the behavior of roups, such as the populations of ccupied countries, displaced per-ons, children, etc. Dr. Meerloo is lso the author of *Total War and ne Human Mind,* also published by UP, at $1.75.

The Effects of Atomic Weapons, repared by the Atomic Energy ommisison and Department of ational Defense. Combat Forces ress, 1950. 455 pp., $3.00. What ill happen to you, your house, our apartment or office building, factories, piers and warehouses, animal life and crops, to your hildren and grandchildren if an tomic bomb explodes anywhere ithin a couple of miles of you.

Christianity on the Frontier, by ohn A. Mackay. Macmillan, 1950. 06 pp., $2.50. Dr. Mackay is Presi-ent of Princeton Theological Sem-ary and the author of a number f books on theology. He says, "The hurch's place is on the frontier," hether of politics, culture or mis-

• ALBERT EINSTEIN
• ARTHUR COMPTON
• LECOMPTE DU NUOY
• VANNEVAR BUSH
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and many others state their faith, in

Religious Beliefs of American Scientists

By EDWARD LEROY LONG, Jr.

Author of *The Christian Response to the Atomic Crisis*

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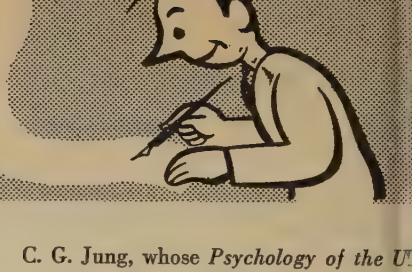
sionary work, and tells what he means by it.

The Wings of Faith, by H. V. Martin. The Philosophical Library, 1951. 132 pp., $2.75. A consideration of the nature and meaning of the Christian faith in the light of the work of Soren Kierkegaard.

Making the Peace: 1941-1945, by William L. Neumann. Foundation for Foreign Affairs, 1950. 102 pp., $1.00. Subtitled "The Diplomacy of the Wartime Conferences," this study reports on and analyzes the Allies' conferences from the Atlantic to the Crimean. A valuable book for any student of foreign affairs, it traces the agreements and disagreements between the U. S., Britain and Russia, and the gradually widening rift.

Letters



Against UMT

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

A co-worker and myself used a plan for working against UMT that may interest you.

To anyone we think would cooperate we send a form letter, a list of newspapers that publish letters from readers, and some literature on UMT.

We have sent out letters to about fifty concerned people in various parts of the country and estimate that about 10% have written as requested and about 15% more have promised definitely to write.

If 10% of FOR members would write thirty letters each, the number of letters written would add up to 30,000. This means that 30 editors would get 1,000 letters each against UMT in a comparatively short time. The letters might not all be published but I have heard that editors are sometimes polled to get their opinion as to what public sentiment is on such questions as UMT and if such is the case then even unpublished letters might do some good.

PETER B. RUCH
Shubert, Nebraska

Psychiatry and Religion

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

The past few years have seen an awakening interest in reconciling religion and psychoanalysis. Starting with Liebman's *Peace of Mind* the series includes many books by church-workers and psychiatrists alike. But none of them, I am convinced, has attained to the depth and breadth of the earliest pioneer in the field, C. G. Jung, whose *Psychology of the Unconscious* appeared in 1911.

I have just finished Hans Schaer's *Religion and the Cure of Souls in Jung's Psychology.** Any readers of FELLOWSHIP who know this book must agree it is deep significance for pacifists. It place the foundation of psychiatric therapy c rectly under the return of the individu to a dynamic personal religious exper ence. For Jung the purposes of psychiat and of religion are identical; not adjust the individual to society but adjust him to his own Inner Light.

Schaer quotes from Jung's *Psychology and Religion*:

> "Look at the incredible savagery our so-called civilized world: it comes from human beings and the spiritual condition they are in! Look the diabolical means of destruction They are invented by completely i nocuous gentlemen—by reasonable, r spectable citizens who are everythin we could wish. And when the whol thing blows up and an indescribab hell of destruction is let loose, noboo seems to be responsible. It just ha pens, and yet it is all man-made. Bi since everybody is blindly convince that he is nothing *more* than his ow extremely unassuming and insignifica conscious mind, which performs i duties decently and earns him a mo erate living, not a soul realizes tha this whole rationally organized co glomeration we call the "state" "nation" is driven on by what appea to be an impersonal, invisible, but te rible power which nothing and nobod

* Pantheon Books, Bollingen Serie XXI, N. Y., 1950

can check. This frightful power is generally explained as fear of the neighboring nation, which is supposed to be possessed by some malevolent fiend. Since nobody is capable of recognizing just where and how strongly he himself is possessed and unconscious, we all project our own state of mind on to our neighbors; and so it becomes a holy duty to possess the biggest guns and the most poisonous gas. The worst of it is that we are all quite right: all our neighbors are in the grip of some uncontrolled and uncontrollable fear, just like ourselves."

I hope the following quotation from haer will influence readers to read fur-er in Jung. It will repay them.

"Jung sees it as one of the essential tasks of his psychotherapy to make the individual aware of this need for inward reconstruction, and to help him fulfil this need. He tries to do that in the one place where the individual has immediate experience: in the soul. So that ultimately his aim is to put us, through the soul, directly in touch with the powers which create and transform life itself."

HALE CHAMBERLAIN
College Station, Texas

Correction, Please

ie Editors,
LLOWSHIP:
May I make one small correction in J. M.'s fair and friendly review of my ok, *Search After Sunrise?* I did not go the World Pacifist Meeting as a dele-te of the Peace Pledge Union, though was then its National Chairman; I was vited as an individual author whose itings had some relevance to the sub-cts to be discussed by the Conference. far as I remember, all the British visi-rs were invited as individuals, and not representatives of organizations. I ould not like the Peace Pledge Union to be held responsible for the purely individual views that I expressed about India, and the Meeting.

I can only apologize to those readers who think with A. J. M. that there is "too much Vera Brittain" in the book. To claim to write a book "on India" would have been even more arrogant. So long as I kept to my own "experiment in understanding" I was on relatively sure ground. Beyond it lay a vast field of experience quite outside the range of a ten weeks' traveller.

VERA BRITTAIN
London, England

Allocated Taxes

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I think we who do not believe in war should work for legislation which would give us the freedom to use our "defense" tax dollar in channels of what to us *is* defense.

Surely under our minority rights something of this sort could be worked out. Many would respond who are now afraid, for they feel they should be law abiding. Such a new law, giving true freedom of conscience, would help. Senators could be reminded that *no* Defense department ever won the Nobel Peace Prize but that the Friends Service Committee did.

MRS. WILHEMINA R. TAGGERT
Chico, California

Let Us Protest

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I'm too old to bear arms; so I think I wouldn't. But I'm not too old to pay taxes; and it bothers me to see some people refusing to pay them, while I go along in the old rut. To go along protestingly gets me more consideration, I think, than refusing to, and being dragged. Paying taxes to a Caesar who was spending them

on militarism was definitely commanded by One whose teachings, if followed, would render militarism obsolete. In that day, Caesar alone was responsible; today, in our democracy, each of us is responsible for an expression as to how our taxes should be spent. Saying this plainly to our President and Representatives, and on occasion to those who respect our judgment, cannot be misunderstood, as tax-refusal might be, and, as a movement, would gain a greater following. If all the people who don't want their money spent for war would *say* so, it would be a big noise.

ALTON L. HALL
Huntington Beach, Cal.

Controls Inflation

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As a person who has been active in the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and who has also been receiving tax refusal literature, I believe I understand very well the altruistic motives which inspire tax refusal.

However, my graduate work in economics has persuaded me beyond any doubt that tax refusal does not cramp the Pentagon's style one whit—all it does is add to inflation.

If five, or ten, or twenty percent of the American people refused to pay taxes, this act would not mean any cut in military spending. The government would simply borrow the money from the banks, or print it, or borrow it from individuals.

Even now, of course, the government is required to borrow a lot of money from banks—actually, *create* money—because it does not tax enough to pay for the expenditures.

But it is crystal clear that the only purpose of taxation is to *control inflation.* is inflationary to create money and spen it. It is less inflationary to take away fro the entire American economy about much money as you put into it in go ernment spending.

I think it is important for pacifists realize that when they refuse to pay taxe they are not thereby reducing the numbe of guns or bullets or bombs produced. The are simply making it harder for the go ernment to produce that number withou inflation.

In other words—because of the go ernment's power to literally create mone —the only control we have over militar spending is through the ballot-box. Ta refusal does not further the cause of di armament—it only furthers the "cause of inflation.

Can you reconcile this with the lov of your fellowmen?

GORDON SHULL
Champaign, Illinois

ALFRED HASSLER

(*Continued from page* 6)

They are reaching for freedom an a decent life at the very moment i history when economic realitie make both of those impossible un less war is utterly banished. Per haps the very blackness of thei plight may be the sign of a ligh waiting to break. In very rea ways, the stars in their courses ar with us. The whole world yearn for release from the militaristi yoke—we pacifists need to fin ways to say how that release ma be won.

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 820 So. St. Andrews Place, Los Angeles, Cal.

A Job to Go On With

Pacifists heaved a sigh of relief when the Universal Military Training bill was sent back to committee; but it has become clear, after the many crises that we have successfully weathered, that proponents of UMT will not allow it to die. We must think of this as a long-time job of education among people throughout the country, and plan and work on it now, instead of waiting until the issue is forced on us.

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